1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX D

Changes in Crop Data

241 433 127 128 [659] The crop data in Produção Agrícola: 1948 were gathered by statistical agencies of the Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística established in each cidade of Bahia and of most other states in Brazil. The quality of statistical data assembled is highly variable, depending in part upon the efficiency of the agent but also upon the size of the município and upon whether the products are easily assessable, or are marketed locally, and a number of other factors. In a number of cases it has been necessary to modify obviously erroneous parts of the official data, which were sometimes contradictory and sometimes at variance with the agricultural pattern as determined by field investigation. This usually has been done by interpolating from other more creditable data from the same basic source or from other sources. In the following pages the important changes which have been made in the data for various crops will be discussed, and maps based upon the original data will be presented.

When the data for area, production, and value were combined to determine yield and price, and these relationships were mapped, certain obvious errors and a number of clues to the direction and extent of error were discernible because the general outline of price and yield pattern in the Recôncavo was clear. Generally one of the three base figures--area, production, or value--was accepted as valid and the others adjusted to bring yield and/or price into line. Because of an almost complete lack of property surveys, the crop area data are at best a gross estimate and liable to great error. On the other hand, [443] [659] the location of the statistical bureau in the cidades, usually the primary market, does give opportunity to make reasonably close estimates of value and production, at least of marketed crops.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX E

Tobacco Zones of Bahia

249 659 311 The tobacco industry, the exporting houses, and the official tobacco organizations of the government have divided the entire leaf tobacco producing area of Bahia into four zones on the basis of the kind of tobacco produced. None of these zones even approximately coincides with the Recôncavo, but three of the four include Recôncavo municípios, while the edge of the fourth touches upon the region. These four zones, in order of approximate relative value of their leaf, are "Mata," "Feira," "Caatinga," and "Sertão." Many different types and grades are included in "Sertão." The accompanying map (Map 136) shows the relationship of these zones to the Recôncavo.

249 311 "Mata," the most valuable, is a good burning, light to medium tobacco which can be used after twelve months of curing. Very often it is worth twice as much as the next grade. The "Mata" zone stretches from northern Santo Amaro to the southwestern extreme of the coffee zone. It is divided into three parts—norte, which includes northeast Santo Amaro, southeast Feira de Santana, and Cachoeira; sul, which includes southern Castro Alves, southern Santo Antônio, São Miguel, and the municípios to the southwest; and fina, which includes São Gonçalo, Conceição da Feira, Muritiba, Conceição do Almeida, Cruz das Almas, São Filipe, São Félix, Maragogipe, and northern Santo Antônio. The greatest premium within the Mata Fina grade is given for Cruz das Almas leaf, although São Gonçalo leaf also is highly valued. In addition to the intrinsic value of the leaf, "Mata" tobacco is valuable because of its uniformity, both from area to area and from year to year. In part this uniformity results from the fact that it is grown upon similar

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 420]

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

rapidly becoming one people. Some day not far distant there will be only *one* race in our country."

On visiting Brazil, Theodore Roosevelt once wrote: "Perhaps the attitude that the Brazilians, including the most intelligent among them, take is best symbolized by a picture which we saw in the Art Museum in Rio. It portrayed a black grandfather, a mulatto son, and a white grandchild, the evident intention of the painter being to express both the hope and the belief that the Negro was being absorbed and transformed so that he would become a white man." Quoting a Brazilian statesman, Roosevelt continued: "You speak of Brazil as having a large Negro population. Well, in a century there will not be any Negroes in Brazil, whereas you will have twenty or thirty millions of them. Then for you there will be a real and very uncomfortable problem, while for us the problem in its most menacing phase will have disappeared."[40]

It is difficult to check this general impression that the population is constantly becoming more and more European in appearance. Reliable statistics on the present distribution of the various ethnic groups are not available. No adequate data of this sort have recently been compiled by any agency. The last Brazilian census to include racial categories was taken a half-century ago, in 1890. At that time the racial division in Bahia was given as: *brancos*, 32.0 per cent; *pretos*, 26.4 per cent; and *mestiços*, 35.1 per cent.[41] Vital statistics, however, are still recorded in the city by

[40] *Outlook*, CVI (February 21, 1914), 410–11.

[41] *Caboclos* were given as 6.5 per cent. It is difficult to understand how so large a number of Indians, or Indian mixed-bloods (the term is variously used at different times and in different places in Brazil), could have at that time existed in the city of Bahia.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
SOll Bahia Brazilians SOll
BRAZIL SLI

B
BB
563*
659
826

color categories, three being officially recognized: *branco*, *preto*, and *pardo*. These classifications are based upon physical appearance, the principal criteria being pigmentation and hair texture. Racial intermixture has now proceeded to the point where public officials say no attempt is made to indicate ethnic distinctions. Thus the *branco* category includes many light mulattoes and the *preto* category many dark mixed-bloods.

B
BB
563*
826
171

These official color divisions directly reflect popular distinctions. It is therefore important to note that their usage indicates a shift in criterion from racial descent (as in the United States) to physical appearance; and physical appearance is a characteristic which miscegenation tends continually to modify. Whereas in the United States one drop of Negro blood, if it be known, makes a man a Negro, in Bahia many individuals are listed in the census as white (and, one might add, are so considered by their friends and associates) whose grandmothers were Negroes of pure African descent.

BB
563*
826
[291]

For instance, the grandmother of a *branco* politician who holds a responsible position in the Rio government, and who himself shows no noticeable traces of Negro ancestry, is said to have been a black woman who wore on Bahia's streets "a *saia grande* and a *panno da Costa*."[44] The *branco* wife of a prominent physician, fair and blue eyed, similarly had an African grandmother. A former governor, to all appearances white and so considered throughout the community, is only two generations removed from an African forebear. Cases might be cited indefinitely similar to that of a Bahian who, referring to a prominent local woman invariably con-

[44] Elements of the distinctive costume, partially African in origin, which is worn in Bahia by Negro women (see chap. IX.).

[SALVADOR]

/14 cont./

144
x 563
829
815

a) mulattoes of prime blood; b) light mulattoes tending to revert to the white race; c) dark mulattoes, cabras, product tending to revert to the black race, some almost completely identified with the creole Negroes, the others more easily separable; 2nd, the mamelucos or cabôclos, products of the cross between White and Indian; 3rd, the product of the cross of the three races and especially the cross between the mulatto and the Indian or with the mamelucos and cabôclos. Arthur Ramos in his book A aculturaçao negra no Brasil /Negro Acculturation in Brazil/, 1942, p. 58, and in other works, one of which is "The Negro in Brazil," in Brazil, Portrait of Half a Continent, edited by Lynn Smith and A. Marchant, New York, 1950, p. 130, adopts almost the same classification, but proposes that, in order to avoid inaccuracies, one use the words pardo, mulatto, and métis as synonyms.

144
x 563
829
114
[113]

144
x 563
829
• 659

In response to the demand of a lawyer, the head of the Bureau of Judicial Identification of the civil police of the State of Bahia stated some years ago that in his department one uses, according to the judgment of the identifier, the terms White, moreno, pardo, métis, and Black. A woman official who has worked for a long time in this service describes the different Bahia types thus: "The métis is a descendant of Black and mulatto; the pardo is the son of a mulatto and a White; the mulatto is derived from a White and a Black: he may be light, but he will always have lips that are thick and reddened by pigmentation; the moreno is the mulatto fino, and the Black is an individual with pronounced Negro traits."

[SALVADOR]

/14 cont./

829 Many persons identified in this office under the word White
*563 are probably métis of different types; the same confusion occurs
• 659 with persons designated as mulattoes, pardos, or morenos, ac-
192 cording to examinations made by Pierson (2)

2. Donald Pierson, op. cit., p. 189.

and now repeated by the author. A black lawyer relates that his wife, a relatively light mulattress, was registered in this office as Black, while the latter's sister, almost the same type as she, was classed as a mulattress. It is, moreover, interesting to note that generally in the dossier of identity referring to the persons registered the designation "mulatto" never appears, so to speak, but almost always that of moreno or pardo, the first having a pejorative character. A social worker relates that the women of the most humble milieu who are registered in her office, even when they are Blacks, do not want to be mulattoes, but morenas, sometimes saying that their children are moreninhos (little morenos) "like me," or that their husbands are a little more morenos or "darker." In any case, the terms officially employed
829 in the offices are branco, pardo, and preto. A dark mulatto
*563 physician whom most people would have described as black re-
565 lates that, when he was young /15/ and traveling on a train one day, he was recognized by a friend of his father, and this friend, knowing his father was white, introduced him to the other travelers by saying that, in spite of his appearance, he was really White in origin. "My brother, although darker than I," a morena informant told us, "was once classed as White, perhaps because he had a doctor's diploma."

829 The difficulties of identification and the differences of opinion
*563 among Bahians on the subject of local ethnic types can be easily explained. On account of the lack of unity of the criteria intended for distinguishing Blacks and mulattoes, an anthropologist of Rio de Janeiro divided the colored people of Bahia into two categories: the darker and the less dark (1).

[113]

1. M. Julia Pourchet, Contribuçao ao estudo antropofisico da criança de côr /Contribution

/104 cont./
000
*563
175
212
178
[567]
•[659]
in these groups is an old Brazilian tradition. In order to account for the amount of improvement that has occurred in the situation of colored groups, it should be mentioned that on the occasion of the national census of 1872 the totality of the slaves of the city was illiterate. Since the abolition of slavery in 1888, although it did not do much on behalf of the recently freed men, they progressed to such an extent that today more than 50 o/o of the Blacks and more than 60 o/o of the pardos over the age of five know how to read and write, and their number is increasing every year in the secondary and higher courses, thus opening the way to the liberal professions, in which one may count them in variable proportions.

*563
571
It should also be remembered that among those who are called "Whites" there are many light métis who are considered socially white, and that colored persons, even those who are the darkest and show the most obvious Negroid features, are treated like anyone else of the same social situation. Interracial relations are then governed by some "fair play"; in other words, Bahian customs disapprove of openly avowed discrimination motivated by racial intolerance or color prejudice. Another aspect of the Bahian dynamics and social psychology is that both the antagonisms of class and those of color are attenuated by the process of reciprocal accommodation between /105/ the groups and by the development, as much among Whites as among dark individuals, of the type of "cordial" and "gentle" personality that some authors consider to be characteristic of the Brazilian people and the prototype of which is supposed to be the inhabitant of Bahia.

*563
555
178
The facilities for the social ascent of colored individuals are in the process of multiplying in Bahia; according to the opinion of numerous informants, they will not cease to be augmented unless cultural change, under the influence of new social conditions created by the industrialization anticipated in the region by the exploitation of oil-bearing lands and with the development of the electrical energy of the waterworks under construction, produces a perceptible modification of the ethos of Bahia; it is